

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3858

INFO AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMEMBASSY KIGALI

AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, GW, UG

SUBJECT: UGANDA'S INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL SITUATION

REF: BONN 17267 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: FRG EMBASSY IN KAMPALA REPORTS THAT UGANDA'S
INTERNAL SITUATION IS OUTWARDLY CALM BUT THAT AMIN'S
POSITION WAS WEAKENED BY EFFECTS OF ENTEBBE RAID.
POPULAR UNREST WITH HIS CONTINUED RULE IS
GROWING. ON THE EXTERNAL FRONT, AMIN IS TRYING TO
SOOTHE RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORING STATES. RELATIONS
WITH WESTERN EUROPEAN POWERS HAVE DETERIORATED AT THE
SAME TIME THAT SOVIETS' PROMISES OF MILITARY AID HAVE
INGRATIATED THEM WITH AMIN. IN SPITE OF FACT FRG-GOU
RELATIONS ARE MARRED BY AMIN'S DISTRUST, FRG EMBASSY
RECOMMENDS AID PROGRAMS BE CONTINUED AT PRESENT LEVELS.
END SUMMARY.

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1. FONOFF HAS PASSED US THE FOLLOWING COMPREHENSIVE

ANALYSIS OF UGANDA'S INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL SITUATION
PROVIDED BY AMBASSADOR ELLERKMANN FROM FRG EMBASSY IN
KAMPALA. REPORT IS DATED NOVEMBER 22.

BEGIN QUOTE:

AFTER THE ENTEBBE CRISIS AND THE OIL BOYCOTT,
UGANDA'S INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL SITUATION TODAY OFFERS
THE FOLLOWING PICTURE.

(1) AS FAR AS CAN BE NOTED, QUIET HAS RETURNED TO
PUBLIC LIFE, WITH PEOPLE LEADING THEIR LIVES AS USUAL.
THERE IS NOTHING THAT WOULD INDICATE A POLITICAL CHANGE
IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. ALTHOUGH AMIN WAS
CRITICIZED EVEN IN THE CABINET THERE HAVE BEEN NO
IMPORTANT CHANGES THERE. DEFENSE MINISTER GENERAL
MUSTAFA, WHO ACCORDING TO WESTERN REPORTS WAS DISMISSED,
CONTINUES TO BE IN OFFICE AND, ALONG WITH INDUSTRY
MINISTER COLONEI SABUNI, WAS APPOINTED DEPUTY CHAIRMAN
OF THE DEFENSE COUNCIL. IT IS NOT KNOWN WHAT CONCES-
SIONS AMIN HAD TO MAKE TO THE ARMY WHICH CONSIDERS HIM
RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ENTEBBE DEBACLE. HOWEVER, AMIN IS
SAID TO HAVE REGAINED THE CONFIDENCE OF MOST ARMY
UNITS, ESPECIALLY OF THE ELITE TROOPS. MANY PEOPLE
NOTED WITH RELIEF THAT THE "STATE RESEARCH," A SECRET
SERVICE DIRECTLY UNDER THE PRESIDENT, SUFFERED A
WEAKENING OF ITS POSITION IN THE PROCESS. IN THE
MEANTIME, HOWEVER, THE "MARINES" THAT REPLACE IT HAVE
BECOME JUST AS NOTORIOUS AS THE "STATE RESEARCH" USED
TO BE.

(2) THE STABILIZATION OF THE ECONOMIC SITUATION
GREATLY FAVORS AMIN'S EFFORTS TO RE-CONSOLIDATE HIS
POWER. OIL SHIPMENTS WERE RESUMED. THROUGHOUT THE
COUNTRY GASOLINE IS AVAILABLE AGAIN IN SUFFICIENT
QUANTITIES. AIRLINES, HOWEVER, DO NOT YET RECEIVE
AVIATION GASOLINE, EVEN THOUGH THE TANKS OF ENTEBBE
AIRPORT HAVE REPORTEDLY BEEN FILLED UP. FUEL IS SAVED
ALLEGEDLY FOR MILITARY PURPOSES (FUEL RESERVES FOR
SOVIET MIGS). A RECORD-BREAKING COFFEE HARVEST THAT IS
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BEING BROUGHT IN NOW, WITH AN ESTIMATED VALUE
OF 1.2 BILLION MARKS, HAS SAVED THE COUNTRY FROM
EXPECTED FINANCIAL RUIN AND MADE POSSIBLE THE
CONCLUSION OF NOTEWORTHY CONTRACTS WITH WESTERN
COMPANIES. THE HENSCHEL WORKS IN KASSEL RECEIVED AN
ORDER FOR THE SUPPLY OF 18 DIESEL LOCOMOTIVES WITH AN
ADVANCE PAYMENT OF 6 MILLION MARKS. THE BRITISH COM-
PANY TURNER MACHINERY IN LEEDS WAS AWARDED A CONTRACT

FOR BUILDING A TANNERY AND LEATHER GOODS FACTORY WORTH
6 MILLION U.S. DOLLARS. FIAT RECEIVED AN ORDER FOR
538 TRUCKS AND AN ADVANCE PAYMENT, TOO.

(3) AMIN HIMSELF HAS BECOME QUIETER. HE HARDLY
APPEARS IN PUBLIC ANY MORE AND TOOK NO NOTICE OF UN
DAY WHICH LAST YEAR HAD BEEN CELEBRATED VERY EXTENSIVE-
LY. THE SECURITY MEASURES SURROUNDING HIS PERSON WERE

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DRASTICALLY STEPPED UP. HOWEVER, THIS EMBASSY HAS NO
KNOWLEDGE OF A PALESTINIAN BODY GUARD.

AMIN IS STILL UNDER THE SPELL OF HIS DEFEAT AT
ENTEBBE. HE HAS NOT YET OVERCOME, AND PROBABLY WILL
NEVER FORGET, THIS GREATEST DEFEAT OF HIS CAREER. HE
FEELS HUMILIATED AND PRESUMABLY WAITS FOR AN OPPORTUNITY

TO TAKE SOME SORT OF REVENGE, WITH OR WITHOUT THE PALESTINIANS. THE RECOLLECTION OF ENTEBBE IS KEPT ALIVE BY ALMOST DAILY DONATIONS TO THE PRESIDENT FOR THE NEXT-OF-KIN OF UGANDAN SOLDIERS THAT WERE KILLED BY THE ISRAELIS.

(4) THE SUPERFICIAL PICTURE OF QUIET RESTORED, HOWEVER, IS ILLUSORY. UNDER THE SURFACE THERE IS UNREST NOT ONLY IN THE CITIES BUT ALSO AMONG THE RURAL POPULATION. PEOPLE ARE QUITE GENERALLY THROUGH WITH LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AMIN AND WAIT FOR HIS DISPOSITION.

THE STUDENTS OF MAKERERE UNIVERSITY FOR THE FIRST TIME CHANGED THEIR RESERVED ATTITUDE WHEN, EARLY IN AUGUST, THEY DEMONSTRATED ON CAMPUS TO PROTEST AGAINST SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND THE DEATH OF A FEMALE TUTOR WHILE IN OFFICIAL CUSTODY. THE USE OF MILITARY POLICE AND MARINES, WHO MISTREATED STUDENTS AND STAFF MEMBERS IN AN ALMOST BESTIAL WAY, MERELY INCREASED THE LATTER'S REJECTION OF THE REGIME. IN CONTRAST TO SOME REPORTS, HOWEVER, THERE WERE NO FATAL CASUALTIES, AT LEAST NOT ON CAMPUS. IT IS TRUE THAT BOTH THE MILITARY POLICE AND MARINES WERE ARMED BUT THEY CARRIED NO AMMUNITION. HOWEVER, AS A RESULT OF ILL-TREATMENT, THREE TO FIVE STUDENTS PROBABLY DIED IN HOSPITALS.

THE CHURCHMEN, TOO, DARE TO SPEAK MORE CANDIDLY THAN BEFORE. THUS, IN RELIGIOUS SERVICES THERE IS TALK WITHOUT RESTRAINT ABOUT THE "MISERY OF THE PEOPLE" THAT "WILL SOON COME TO AN END" PROVIDED PEOPLE PUT THEIR TRUST IN GOD. IN PROTESTANT NAMIREMBE CATHEDRAL, CHAPTER FIVE OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL WAS READ ON SUNDAY IN WHICH DANIEL ANNOUNCES BELSHAZZAR'S END.

THE POPULATION IS MADE RESTLESS NOT SO MUCH BY LACK OF PROVISIONS AS BY CONSTANT HARASSMENT ON THE PART OF THE ARMY, ESPECIALLY THE MARINES, AND THE SECRET POLICE. ARRESTS ARE AN EVERYDAY OCCURANCE WHEREBY THE NEXT-OF-KIN OF THE ARRESTED REMAIN WITHOUT ANY NOTIFICATION. A REVIVAL OF BANDITRY, THE FIGHTING OF WHICH HELPED TO BRING AMIN INTO POWER FIVE YEARS AGO, PLAGUES NOT ONLY THE CAPITAL. EVEN DIPLOMATS ARE NOT SPARED; THE RWANDIAN CHARGE D'AFFAIRES WAS ATTACKED, IMPRISONED AND MISTREATED BY MARINES.

(5) UGANDA'S EXTERNAL SITUATION IS LIKEWISE BEGINNING TO NORMALIZE. KENYA MADE A FIRST MOVE IN THIS RESPECT -- AGAINST THE HOPES OF UGANDA'S POPULATION --

BY LIFTING THE OIL EMBARGO AND COMPROMISING IN OTHER
AREAS. AMIN'S OFFICIAL VISIT TO THE SUDAN ON NOVEMBER
18 AND 19 SHOWED NOT ONLY THAT HE CAN ONCE AGAIN LEAVE
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HIS COUNTRY WITHOUT FEARING A PUTSCH BUT ALSO THE
IMPORTANCE HE ATTRIBUTES TO A LINK BETWEEN UGANDA AND
PORT SUDAN. AMIN IS POSSESSED BY THE IDEA OF FINDING A
SUBSTITUTE HARBOR FOR MOMBASA. HIS HOPES FOR DAR ES
SALAAM APPARENTLY DID NOT MATERIALIZE, SO HE NOW
HARBORS THE IDEA OF A LAND CONNECTION BETWEEN PORT
SUDAN AND KAMPALA.

EXISTING DIFFICULTIES WITH RWANDA ARE TO BE
SETTLED IN THE NEAR FUTURE WHEN HIGH-RANKING GOVERNMENT
DELEGATIONS FROM BOTH COUNTRIES WILL MEET IN KIGALI ON
NOVEMBER 22 AND 23.

THE SEVERING OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BY THE
BRITISH SURPRISED AMIN, AND TODAY HE MORE THAN REGRETS
THIS MOVE. MOST BRITONS REMAINED IN THE COUNTRY AND
TRUST AMIN'S ASSURANCES. AMIN PRESUMABLY WOULD LIKE
NOTHING BETTER THAN AN EARLY REOPENING OF THE BRITISH
HIGH COMMISSION IN KAMPALA. SINCE CARTER'S ELECTION
AMIN IS MAKING NEW ADVANCES TO THE AMERICANS, TOO.

ON THE WHOLE THE POSITION OF THE WESTERN COUNTRIES
WAS GREATLY WEAKENED BY THE ENTEBBE COUP. THE FRENCH
AND GERMAN EMBASSIES ARE STILL BEING ACCUSED OF HAVING
HELPED THE ISRAELIS WITH THEIR LIBERATION RAID. THE
POSSIBILITY CANNOT BE EXCLUDED THAT AMIN ACTUALLY

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BELIEVES THESE CHARGES MADE BY THE PALESTINIANS. SINCE THE ITALIANS SO FAR HAVE NOT REPLACED THEIR RECALLED AMBASSADOR, ONLY THE FRENCH AND WE ARE TODAY FULLY REPRESENTED HERE DIPLOMATICALLY.

(6) THE SOVIETS SKILLFULLY EXPLOITED THE WEAKNESS OF THE WEST. TWO HIGH-RANKING MILITARY DELEGATIONS (THE SECOND OF WHICH WAS HEADED BY LIEUTENANT GENERAL VASILEVSKY) NOT ONLY NEGOTIATED A REPLACEMENT OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT (MIG 17'S AND MIG 21'S) DESTROYED BY THE ISRAELI INTERVENTION BUT ALSO INTENSIFIED SOVIET MILITARY COOPERATION WITH UGANDA IN A MORE GENERAL WAY. AMIN IS REPORTED TO HAVE PROMISED TO SET UP A MILITARY AIRLIFT BETWEEN MOGADICIO AND UGANDA FOR THE SOVIETS TO FACILITATE THE SUPPLY OF NEW SOVIET MILITARY EQUIPMENT AND JOINT SOMALI-UGANDAN MANEUVERS AT THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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SAME TIME AVOIDING THE PORT OF MOMBASA. THE SOVIETS, IN TURN, ARE REPORTED TO HAVE DECLARED THEIR READINESS TO MAKE AVAILABLE NOT ONLY MIGS (INCLUDING MIG 23'S) BUT ALSO NAVAL VESSELS FOR LAKE VICTORIA.

(7) AMIN'S TURNING TO THE SOVIETS AND OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES IS ALSO EVIDENCED BY OTHER EVENTS. THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR YEVGENY MUSIYKO (FORMERLY IN CUBA AND NIGERIA) IS EXPECTED TO ARRIVE IN KAMPALA BEFORE CHRISTMAS. MANY OBSERVERS DO NOT CONSIDER IT A GESTURE WITHOUT MEANING THAT THE PORTRAITS OF THE BRITISH

QUEEN IN AMIN'S OFFICE .WERE REPLACED BY PICTURES OF
LENIN AND BREZHNEV.

THIS EMBASSY NEVERTHELESS IS NOT OF THE OPINION
THAT THE SOVIETS ARE INTERESTED IN STRENGTHENING AMIN'S
REGIME. BASICALLY THE SOVIETS SHARE OUR OPINION ABOUT
AMIN. HOWEVER, THEY THINK AND WORK IN LONG TERMS BY
BUILDING UP A POSITION TODAY FROM WHICH THEY HOPE TO
PROFIT AFTER AMIN'S END. THEY ARE NOT PLAGUED BY
MORAL SCRUELS. THE SOVIETS ARE ACTIVELY SUPPORTED BY
THE GDR. ONLY POLAND DARES TO FOLLOW A DIFFERENT COURSE
AND PLANS TO CLOSE ITS MISSION BEFORE THE END OF THE
YEAR.

(8) RELATIONS BETWEEN UGANDA AND THE FEDERAL
REPUBLIC HAVE TO BE CALLED DISTURBED. THE UGANDAN
GOVERNMENT SENSES OUR RESERVATION BECAUSE OF THE EVENTS
SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR: THE EXPULSION OF
GERMAN BUSINESSMEN, AMIN'S DOUBTFUL ROLE IN THE
ENTEBBE RAID AND THE BABECK AFFAIR, EVEN THOUGH BABECK,
BY ACTING NAIVELY AND UNCAUTIOUSLY, MAY HAVE UNINTEN-
TIONALLY PROVOKED THE MEASURES TAKEN BY OFFICIAL
ORGANS. AMIN HIMSELF DISTRUSTS US BECAUSE OF OUR
ALLEGED COOPERATION WITH THE ISRAELIS AND OUR
REPRESENTING THE AMERICAN INTERESTS WHICH HE ASSUMES
INCLUDE OUR WORKING FOR THE CIA. THERE IS REASON TO
SUPPOSE THAT THIS DISTRUST IS FOSTERED NOT ONLY BY
THE PALESTINIANS BUT ALSO BY THE SOVIETS AND, POSSIBLY,
BY THE GDR.

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THIS EMBASSY FEELS THAT WE OUGHT TO TRY TO RETAIN
OUR POSITION IN UGANDA AND IGNORE THE HEAD OF STATE'S
DISTRUST OF US. IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE,
ALSO FOR THIS REASON, NOT TO CUT OFF BUT RATHER TO

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MAINTAIN OUR DEVELOPMENT AID AS WELL AS THE VISITORS' AND SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAMS AT THEIR PRESENT LEVELS, WHICH ARE RELATIVELY LOW ANYWAY. ESPECIALLY, THIS APPLIES TO THE CONTRACTUALLY PROMISED EQUATORIAL FARM PROJECT WHICH THE UGANDANS CERTAINLY CONSIDER AS A YARDSTICK FOR GERMAN READINESS TO CONTINUE PAST POLICIES.

THIS EMBASSY, THOUGH UNABLE TO OFFER GUARANTEES FOR THE SECURITY OF GERMAN EXPERTS, NEVERTHELESS PROCEEDS FROM THE ASSUMPTION THAT AMIN AT THIS TIME HAS LITTLE INTEREST IN TURNING AGAINST THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC, UNLESS THE PALESTINIANS AND, POSSIBLY, THE SOVIETS MAKE HIM DO THAT.

IN ADVOCATING THE OPTION OF REMAINING PRESENT IN UGANDA AT ITS CURRENT SIZE, THIS EMBASSY PROCEEDS FROM THE CONSIDERATION THAT UGANDA, BECAUSE OF ITS POPULA- LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TION STRUCTURE, ECONOMIC RESOURCES AND CENTRAL LOCATION IN EAST AFRICA, WILL SOONER OR LATER BECOME ONCE AGAIN A COUNTRY OF A POLITICAL IMPORTANCE NOT TO BE UNDER- ESTIMATED. THIS ASSESSMENT IS ALSO PROVED BY THE ENGAGEMENT OF THE RUSSIANS. ELLERKMANN

END QUOTE

2. COMMENT: ELLERKMANN HAS OBVIOUSLY RESPONDED
POSITIVELY TO OUR GUIDANCE FOR REPORTING OUTLINED REF-
TEL. WE PLAN TO CONVEY OUR THANKS TO HIM THROUGH
FONOFF IN NEAR FUTURE AND WOULD APPRECIATE ANY
DEPARTMENT INPUT TO THANK YOU
NOTE, INCLUDING ANY SPECIFIC REQUESTS OR QUESTIONS.
ON OTHER SIDE OF COIN, WE WOULD APPRECIATE STATUS REPORT
ON ACTION REQUESTED PARAS 3 AND 4 REFTEL.
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